

Message Text

PAGE 01 NATO 03004 01 OF 02 282231Z

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ACTION EUR-12

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2084

SECDEF WASHDC

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AMEMBASSY MADRID

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

USLOSACLANT

CINCLANT

CINCUSAREUR

CINCUSNAVEUR

CINCUSAFE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 3004

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: MPOL, NATO, DPC

SUBJECT: FOLLOW-UP TO THE DPC MINISTERIAL: FRG VIEWS ON COOPERATION
IN NATO

SUMMARY: INITIAL MEETING WITH FRG REP INDICATES VERY POSITIVE
FRG REACTION TO DPC MINISTERIAL MEETING.
FRG REP CITED DPC DISCUSSIONS ON SPAIN AS A USEFUL AND NECESSARY
STEP TOWARD CLOSER RELATIONS BETWEEN NATO AND SPAIN AND REPORTED
THAT THERE HAS BEEN NO ADVERSE REACTION IN THE FRG. HE SAID
ADOPTION OF MINISTERIAL GUIDANCE WAS A SUCCESS FOR FRG-US
COOPERATION AND A GOOD BASIS FOR PROGRESS IN COOPERATIVE PROGRAMS,
BUT THE SURRENDER OF VIETNAM AND TURKISH EMBARGO HAVE DONE SOME
DAMAGE IN EUROPE, AND THAT A LIFTING OF THE EMBARGO WOULD BE
EXTREMELY IMPORTANT TO FURTHER PROGRESS IN COOPERATIVE PROGRAMS.
HE SAID THAT FRG WAS PLEASED WITH US EMPHASIS ON COST-EFFECTIVE-
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PAGE 02 NATO 03004 01 OF 02 282231Z

NESS IN THE STANDARDIZATION TWO-WAY STREET, BUT THAT EUROPE WOULD
NOT GIVE UP ITS INDUSTRY AND MUST MOVE TOWARD TRUE COMPETITION IN
REALISTIC STEPS, AND THE FRG AND US MUST WORK OUT SOME USEFUL
ROLE FOR THE UK OR THE LATTER COULD NOT MOVE TOWARD STANDARDIZATION.

FINALLY, HE SAID THAT THE FRG COULD PROVIDE NECESSARY WARTIME SUPPORT TAIL FOR US FORCES WITH PROPER PLANNING AND ORGANIZING. IN OUR JUDGMENT, FRG HAS EMERGED FROM LATEST MINISTERIAL MEETING WITH A MUCH MORE ENTHUSIASTIC ATTITUDE TOWARD COOPERATIVE PROGRAMS, THAN AFTER LAST TWO MINISTERIAL MEETINGS. END SUMMARY

1. THE FRG DEFENSE ADVISOR (BG SCHUNEMANN), IN A MEETING ON 26 MAY WITH THE US DEPUTY DEFENSE ADVISOR (BG BOWMAN) AND THE US DEPUTY DEFENSE ADVISOR DESIGNATE (BG SEIGLE), DISCUSSED FRG VIEWS ON THE DPC MINISTERIAL MEETING AND THE FUTURE OF COOPERATIVE PROGRAMS. HE REFERRED TO MINISTERIAL GUIDANCE AS THE SUCCESSFUL RESULT OF A YEAR'S WORK IN NATO MARKED BY CLOSE COOPERATION BETWEEN THE US AND THE FRG. HE SAID THAT MINISTERIAL GUIDANCE SHOULD PROVIDE A GOOD BASE FOR COOPERATIVE PROGRAMS, AND SOLVING OF INFRASTRUCTURE FINANCING WAS A FIRST STEP FORWARD.

2. SPAIN. SCHUNEMANN SAID THAT THE CONSIDERABLE TIME SPENT ON SPAIN AT THE DPC MINISTERIAL MEETING WAS WORTHWHILE IN THAT IT PREPARED THE GROUND FOR LATER EFFORTS TO ESTABLISH A CLOSER RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN NATO AND SPAIN. HE SAID THAT AFTER FOREIGN MINISTER GENSCHER'S VISIT TO SPAIN ON 3-4 APRIL, BONN WAS FEARFUL OF A POLITICAL REACTION TO GENSCHER'S STATEMENT THAT HE HAD DISCUSSED WITH THE SPANIARDS "DEFENSE MATTERS OF MUTUAL INTEREST", BUT NO ADVERSE REACTION OCCURRED. THEREFORE, IT SEEMED REASONABLE AND IMPORTANT TO START MOVING TOWARD A CLOSER RELATIONSHIP WITH SPAIN.

3. MUTUAL TRUST AND COOPERATION WITHIN THE ALLIANCE. SCHUNEMANN SAID THAT THERE IS A SERIOUS PROBLEM OF MAINTAINING MUTUAL TRUST FOLLOWING THE SURRENDER OF SOUTH VIETNAM. HE SAID THAT BONN WAS DOING ITS BEST TO HELP WITH THIS BY MAKING OFFICIAL STATEMENTS WHICH DENY ANY RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN VIETNAM AND THE US COMMITMENTS TO EUROPE. HOWEVER, THERE IS CONSIDERABLE WORRY ABOUT THE INTERNAL STRENGTH OF THE US GOVERNMENT FOLLOWING VIETNAM, AND ESPECIALLY ABOUT COOPERATION BETWEEN THE CONGRESS AND THE EXECUTIVE. MANY CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 NATO 03004 01 OF 02 282231Z

EUROPEANS DOUBT WHETHER THE US GOVERNMENT CAN REALLY DELIVER ON ITS COMMITMENTS. THE US EMBARGO ON ARMS FOR TURKEY IS IN EVERYONE'S MIND AS AN ILLUSTRATION OF HOW THE US CAN BE PARALYZED TO THE DISADVANTAGE OF NATO. A LIFTING OF THE EMBARGO WOULD BE VERY IMPORTANT, NOT ONLY TO THE DEFENSE OF THE SOUTHERN FLANK, BUT ALSO TO THE SUCCESSFUL DEVELOPMENT OF NEW STANDARDIZATION AND RATIONALIZATION PROJECTS WITHIN NATO. IN MISSION VIEW, THIS IS A VALID ARGUMENT THAT MIGHT BE PASSED TO CONGRESS.

4. STANDARDIZATION OF ARMAMENTS. SCHUNEMANN INDICATED THAT IN THE EUROGROUP MEETING IN LONDON ON 7 MAY, THE FRG FELT THAT THE BRITISH PROPOSAL FOR A TWO-WAY STREET IN ARMAMENTS PROCUREMENT

ACROSS THE ATLANTIC WAS MORE CONCERNED WITH INCREASING BRITISH SALES THAN WITH IMPROVED ALLIANCE EFFICIENCY. THEREFORE, THE FRG WAS VERY GLAD THAT SECRETARY SCHLESINGER HAD EMPHASIZED THE NEED FOR EFFICIENCY AND COMPETITION AS WELL AS FOR TWO-WAY STREET. BUT EUROPEANS CANNOT GIVE UP THEIR DEFENSE INDUSTRY SINCE THE TECHNOLOGY DEVELOPED IS IMPORTANT IN THE CIVILIAN SPHERE AS WELL. EUROPE MUST MOVE TOWARD TRUE COMPETITION IN REALISTIC STEPS. COOPERATION IN ARMS PROCUREMENT ACROSS THE ATLANTIC CAN RESULT IN A CONSIDERABLE PAY-OFF FOR NATO EVEN IF SOME COUNTRIES ARE UNABLE TO DO THEIR PART OF THE JOB QUITE AS EFFICIENTLY AS THE US COULD DO IT. SAVINGS WILL TAKE THE FORM OF GREATER MILITARY CAPABILITY STEMMING FROM COMMON WEAPONS, MORE EFFICIENT LOGISTICS, CONSOLIDATED TRAINING, AND ELIMINATION OF EXCESS REDUNDANCY IN R&D.

5. EUROPEAN DOUBTS ABOUT US PARTICIPATION IN STANDARDIZATION. SCHUNEMANN SAID EUROPEANS ARE GLAD TO SEE THE US SELECTION OF ROLAND AND US PARTICIPATION IN THE TANK GUN AND RIFLE AMMUNITION PROJECTS, AND PARTICULARLY WITH THE US DECISION TO ENTER THE LEOPARD II IN THE COMPETITION FOR A NEW US TANK; HOWEVER, THERE IS ALSO CONSIDERABLE SKEPTICISM AS TO WHETHER THE US WILL REALLY USE EUROPEAN DESIGNED EQUIPMENT OR WHETHER SYSTEMS LIKE ROLAND WILL MERELY BE REDESIGNED IN THE US UNTIL ALL THE VALUE FROM STANDARDIZED PARTS, TRAINING, AND SO FORTH HAS BEEN LOST.

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PAGE 01 NATO 03004 02 OF 02 282229Z

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 USNATO 3004

6. NEED FOR FRG AND US TO WORK OUT ROLE FOR UK. SCHUNEMANN CITED THE UK AS A MAJOR PROBLEM FOR THE FRG AND US WITH REGARD TO STANDARDIZATION. WE CANNOT LET THE UK FALL BY THE WAYSIDE WITHOUT FURTHER WEAKENING THE NORTHERN SECTOR OF THE CENTRAL FRONT. YET THE UK IS LIKELY TO BUILD ITS OWN TANK GUN, EVEN IF IT LOSES THE COMPETITION, SINCE IT CANNOT AFFORD THE EXCHANGE LOSS ASSOCIATED WITH BUYING THE WEAPONS ELSEWHERE AND LOSING THIRD WORLD SALES. THE FRG AND US WILL HAVE TO FIND USEFUL TASKS FOR THE UK DEFENSE INDUSTRY (WHICH IS IN MANY WAYS EXCELLENT) TO PERFORM, OR ELSE THE UK WILL BE UNABLE TO PARTICIPATE IN STANDARDIZATION PROJECTS. ALSO, THERE MUST BE SOME WAY TO ALLOT THIRD WORLD SALES AMONG MAJOR ALLIANCE ARMS PRODUCERS.

7. TRAINING. SCHUNEMANN REPORTED THAT THE FRG IS VERY INTERESTED IN FOLLOWING UP OPPORTUNITIES FOR COOPERATION IN CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 NATO 03004 02 OF 02 282229Z

TRAINING. HE SAID THAT WE SHOULD NOT EXPECT EVERY COMMON TRAINING PROGRAM TO BE A COMPLETE NATO-WIDE PROGRAM. THE PARTICIPANTS IN PARTICULAR NATO TRAINING PROGRAMS MAY BE LIMITED BY COMMON EQUIPMENT, COMMON REQUIREMENTS, COMMON REGION, ETC. BUT ANY NATO TRAINING PROGRAMS THAT WE ESTABLISH WILL PERMIT THE ALLIES TO WORK TOGETHER BETTER AND WILL SET UP PRESSURES FOR COMMON APPROACHES TO BOTH DOCTRINE AND EQUIPMENT REQUIREMENTS.

8. TOOTH-TO-TAIL RATIO. SCHUNEMANN WAS VERY FORTHCOMING ON THE FRG DESIRE TO ASSIST THE US WITH SUPPORT PROBLEMS (CONTRARY TO MANY OF HIS STATEMENTS LAST YEAR). HE SAID THAT THERE IS NO FAT IN GERMAN FORCES THAT WOULD PERMIT THE FRG TO PICK UP PEACE TIME SUPPORT OF THE US, BUT THERE IS MUCH FRG CIVILIAN CAPABILITY THAT COULD BE MOBILIZED TO PROVIDE THE SUPPORT TAIL FOR US FORCES IN THE EVENT OF WAR. THE GERMAN TERRITORIAL FORCES ARE NOT ORGANIZED FOR SUPPORT OF THE US AT THE PRESENT TIME, BUT MUCH COULD BE DONE TO PROVIDE THE NECESSARY CAPABILITY. THERE ARE 2 MILLION GERMAN RESERVES THAT COULD BE USED AND PLENTY OF CIVILIAN CONSTRUCTION AND MAINTENANCE EQUIPMENT. THE FRG ONLY NEEDS A SMALL PERCENTAGE OF THIS CAPABILITY FOR ITS OWN FORCES.

9. MISSION COMMENT: SCHUNEMANN USUALLY STAYS QUITE CLOSE TO INSTRUCTIONS AND ATTITUDES OF BONN. HIS ENTHUSIASTIC REACTIONS WOULD APPEAR TO INDICATE THAT FRG HAS NOW MOVED CONSIDERABLY TOWARD ADOPTING THE ARGUMENTS ON COOPERATIVE PROGRAMS THAT WE HAVE BEEN ADVANCING HERE FOR THE PAST TWO YEARS.
END MISSION COMMENT.BRUCE

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